Any discussion of covert operations must be held against a background of what the opposition is doing. Clandestine activities are an essential and major part of the communist effort throughout the world, such activities including not only espionage, but political action, propaganda, psychological warfare on an immense scale as well as armed warfare in some areas. There is no need to review in detail; the activities of communist political parties in furtherance of Soviet ends are well known; likewise much of their propaganda, semi-overt like the DAILY WORKER and its equivalents, covert like the masses of leaflets and other publications which are distributed throughout the world. Well known are such psychological operations as the Stockholm Peace Petition and more recently the "Ban the Bomb" campaign - the communist support of guerrillas in Malaya, Laos and other parts of Asia, the instigation of riots in Singapore and India. Less widely appreciated is the magnitude of support given to front organizations in wide variety of fields, labor, youth, women, etc. Estimated that support of organizations may be as much as \$2 billion a year. Rather than a decrease since the softer line appeared in Geneva, there is evidence that Soviets have increased their subversive efforts in line with their expanded program of economic penetration.

U.S. must not only take actions to keep strong and attached to the Free World these people now affiliated with us, but also attract

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to our side the uncommitted and wavering and to counter unremitting communist efforts. Most of US action is perfectly open and avowed.

Necessary, however, to engage in activities which are not and cannot be attributed to US Government, in part because such activities would be ineffective if their origin were known, in part because they would be inconsistent with our ideas of proper relations and intercourse between nations. It is in such fields that covert operations become an important means for fighting the cold war.

Covert operations differ according to circumstances of particular area of operations and the tactics and strategy of communists, who choose whatever line seems most fruitful. Whereas in some areas, financial and personal support is given to moderate political parties and people who are locally fighting communist political action, in other places the best technique is to engage in direct propaganda through publications, leaflets, radio, etc. In areas to which direct access is denied, help is given to these, including emigre organizations, who seek to keep open by unconventional means the channels of communication with enslaved peoples behind the various curtains. Where the communists are seeking to influence and dominate the young, the intellectuals or special groups through text books, magazines, organizations and special interest groups, their efforts are countered through support

to private American and foreign organizations and groups which provide a rallying point for the needs and desires of non-communists, and which are producing and distributing materials expounding the free world point of view. In countries where free trade unions are battling with communist controlled unions for the allegiance of labor, financial and technical aid has been given the former. We have comperated with and helped private philanthropic organizations abroad.

Organizations of emigres and exiles provide the means of accomplishing objectives within and against the communist bloc, as well as resources of specialized personnel.

In a number of countries threatened by communist subversion, we have covertly helped to train and equip internal security forces to carry out the exposure and neutralization of such subversion, including training in psychological warfare techniques. We have established channels of communication and influence with leaders in countries throughout the world and with newspapers, radios, television systems, etc., thus acquiring the means of influencing and sometimes directing the tone and contents of local news media.

Since we must be prepared to the extent possible for the contingency of war, considerable effort has been spent on developing the nucleus of resistance units as well as networks to facilitate the escape of U.S. personnel which might be captured. Such activities require the

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procurement and stockpiling of weapons and specialized equipment.

All such activities must, to be effectively planned and carried out, require the best intelligence obtainable and an adequate system of communications.

Considerable effort has been spent on trying to induce the defection of key Soviet and satellite personnel. While the numbers of such defections has not been great, they have been of significant value.

It is impossible to evaluate in accurate terms the effectiveness of our efforts. The strength of the communist reaction to some operations is evidence of effectiveness; in specific cases, tangible results can be measured, whether in the relative growth of non-communist trade unions, in election results, or in clearly described political events. In many cases, however, the results are not to be clearly defined. On balance, it seems indisputable that the product of our efforts in the covert field is well worth the cost.

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